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This is an outline of the major characteristics of sentences like "Ali alikuwa mwalimu" (Ali was a teacher), "Ali ni mwalimu" (Ali is a teacher), and the numerous pattern variations demonstrated by such sentences. Constructions of this kind are traditionally called copula constructions, and have been classified in terms of (1) predication with a verb, and (2) predication without a verb. The purpose of this study is primarily to investigate whether the elements mentioned under (2) are in fact sufficient to account for copula constructions without the morpheme "-w-," and what combinations of elements are possible. The second part of this outline discusses the structure of and restrictions on nominal expressions in copula sentences. The third part deals with word order, and the fourth with intonation patterns. (AMM)

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SOME COPULA PATTERNS IN STANDARD SWAHILI

by

Elizabeth Closs, Ali Kondo and Salma Mbaye

The following[1] is an outline of the major characteristics of sentences like *Ali alikuwa mwalimu* 'Ali was a teacher', *Ali ni mwalimu* 'Ali is a teacher', and the numerous pattern variations demonstrated by such sentences. Constructions of this kind are traditionally called copula constructions. Mrs. Ashton[2] among others has classified them in terms of (a) 'predication with a verb'; in these sentences *–w–* 'be' is present as in the first quotation above; and (b) 'predication without a verb'; no *–w–* is present, but there is an optional 'invariable copula ni' (*Ali ni mwalimu*), or a free verb prefix (*Ali yu mwalimu*) or a copula *ndi–* requiring the 'enclitic *–O* of reference' (*Ali ndiye mwalimu*). The purpose of this study is primarily to investigate whether the elements mentioned under (b) are in fact sufficient to account for copula constructions without *–w–*, and what combinations of elements are possible. The second part will go on to discuss the structure of and restrictions on nominal expressions in copula sentences; the third part will be devoted to word order, and the fourth to intonation patterns. It is hoped that the material will be useful to teachers of Swahili as well as to linguists and that it will stimulate further research into copula constructions.

The functional relations between all the sentences under discussion is the same: Subject—Copula Predicate—Predicate Nominal. This set of functions is expressed, or 'realized', by several different structural categories, and it is these categories and their combinations that must be investigated. They include:

(a) nominal expressions (symbolized by *N*(oun) *P*(hrase); *NP* in turn includes the categories of *N* and various modifiers like Demonstrative;

(b) copula expressions (*Cop*); for the present stage of the discussion, *Cop* has as its members an optional *–w–*, and optional *ni*, *ndi–*, Verb Prefix (*Vpf*);[3]

(c) adverbial expressions (*Adv*), which include subcategories such as negative adverb (*Neg*).

Other classes will be introduced during the course of discussion.

A distinction is made between 'underlying' and 'surface' structures. The difference here is between basic patterns and overtly observable patterns; in some cases underlying and surface structures are different; e. g. *Chiriku huyu ni wangu* 'This finch is mine', can be considered as the pattern underlying *Wangu ni chiriku huyu* 'Mine, that's what this finch is' since the relationship between the items remains the same, although the emphasis is different. On the other hand, *Dar es Salaam ni mji mkubwa* 'Dar es Salaam is a/the large city' is not considered the base from which *Mji mkubwa ni Dar es Salaam* 'The big city is Dar es Salaam' is derived. This is because in the first sentence *mji* can be specific or non-specific; in the second sentence *mji* can only be specific, and the relationship between the two sentences is therefore not the same. Furthermore the first sentence, as a complete utterance, can occur discourse-initially as well as discourse-medially, while the second is limited to discourse-medial position. Both sentences are therefore realizations of different underlying structures, although they happen to share the same lexical items in different order; here underlying and surface structure coincide. For ease of reference it will sometimes be convenient to use subscript numerals for the two *NP*s in the patterns under discussion. These numerals will refer to underlying structures unless otherwise specified.

In any study which is concerned with the productivity of language and with accounting not only for sentences in the data but also for other possible sentences with the same structure, it is necessary to consider impossible as well as possible constructions. Only in this way can the limitations of grammatical versus ungrammatical sentences be fully stated. Ungrammatical sentences are preceded by *; those of marginal acceptability by ?.

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Two other notational devices have been used to simplify description. Parentheses indicate that the item or items enclosed in them are optional, e.g. NP_1 (*Neg*) (*Cop*) NP_2 reads: first noun phrase, followed by optional negative adverb, followed by optional copula expression, followed by second noun phrase. { } indicates that in any specific sentence any one of the elements in brackets will be chosen, but not more than one; e.g. $\left\{\begin{matrix} ni \\ Vpf \end{matrix}\right\}$ *NP* reads: either *ni* or *Vpf*, followed by noun phrase.

PART I: THE STRUCTURE OF 'COPULA EXPRESSIONS'

PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF *–W–*:

Most sentences of the type NP_1 (*Neg*) (*Cop*) NP_2 permit *–w–* as one of the realizations of *Cop*. Obligatory absence of *–w–* is characteristic only of certain constructions where a semantic relationship of member to class pertains between certain lexical realizations of NP_1 and NP_2.[4]

–W– may co-occur with any other member of *Cop*, although this is rare. It may also co-occur with all tense-markers available in Swahili (subject to the usual restrictions on sequences of clauses etc.). *Tense* + *–w–* contrasts with absence of *–w–*; the following illustrate the contrast between three 'present tenses' + *–w–* and absence of *–w–*:[5]

1. *Baba awa baharia* 'Father is becoming a sailor' (he has just started; he intends to become a sailor).
2. *Baba anakuwa baharia* 'Father is becoming a sailor' (and started some time back; he is improving).
3. *Baba huwa baharia* 'Father is at times a sailor.'
4. *Baba baharia* 'Father is a sailor.'

Certain restrictions on the choice of tense are dictated by Adverbs and clause-sequence. Others are apparently dictated by external factors only. For example, while it is possible to say 3, or *Wageni wakija dada huwa mpishi* 'When visitors come, sister is the cook (instead of the usual one)', it is considered contextually incongruous to say **Baba huwa Juma* 'My father is at times Juma'. Similarly, while *Hamisi huwa mwanamume* 'Hamisi is at times a man' can be used (abusively), the following is not permitted: **Hamisi huwa mume wangu* 'Hamisi is at times my husband'. These restrictions are semantic, not grammatical.

An auxiliary *–w–* is permissible, though rare, before main verb *–w–*, as before any other main verb;

5. *Ali akawa anakuwa mtoto mzuri* 'Ali was becoming a good child'.
6. *Yasili akawa amekuwa mkalimani* 'Yasili had become a translator'.

As in other auxiliary + main verb constructions, *Neg* may combine with either auxiliary or main verb. In either case the meaning appears to be identical:

7. *Ali hakuwa anakuwa mtoto mzuri* 'Ali was not becoming a good boy' (e.g. despite efforts to make him so).
8. *Ali alikuwa hawi mtoto mzuri* Ibid.

PATTERNS WITH *NI*:

The formative *ni* (negative *si*) is optional, but permissible in all copula constructions.[6] Its function is specification of the copula relationship.[7]

9. *Baba ni baharia* 'Father is a sailor' (precisely a sailor).

10. *Hamisi anakuwa ni msemaji* 'Hamisi is becoming (exactly) a talkative person'.

11. *Ali alikuwa ni mwalimu* 'Ali was (exactly) a teacher'.

12. *Kutaja kidani kulikuwa ni bahati nasibu* 'Mentioning the necklace was just a gamble'.

If *–w–* and *ni* co-occur, *ni* always follows; where *Neg*, *–w–*, and *ni* all co-occur, *Neg* is supported by either *–w–* or *ni*, apparently without contrast in meaning:

13. *Baba alikuwa si baharia* 'Father was not a sailor'.

14. *Baba hakuwa ni baharia* Ibid.

The two formatives, *–w–* and *ni*, may not always be in close proximity to each other; for example, an *Adv* may be shifted from its usual position after NP_2 to position between *–w–* and *ni* for stylistic effect:

15a. *Ulikuwa ni usingizi siku hiyo* 'It was just sleep that day' (i.e. there was nothing but sleep that day).

b. *Ulikuwa siku hiyo ni usingizi* 'It was that day just sleep.'

PATTERNS WITH VERB PREFIX:

This element is not used by all speakers of Standard Swahili except in fixed aphorisms or expressions like *Yu tayari* 'He/she is ready'. In a random sample of educated Coastal Swahili speakers, mostly university students, two out of twelve rejected the use of any kind of *Vpf* in productive constructions;[8] some others felt it was archaic or 'substandard', but used it in their own speech. It is very rarely found in the written language.

Vpf is mutually exclusive with *ni*, and like *ni* specifies copula relationship. In addition, it implies the relationship has persisted over some period of time and that it will continue to do so. It is often used to express 'X is Y by profession'.

16. *Baba yu baharia* 'Father is (has been, and will for some time be) a sailor' (by profession).

17. *Kuchimba ku kazi* 'Cultivation is (always has been and will be) hard work'.

18. *Mtambua ndwele yu mganga* 'One who diagnoses an illness is (always) a doctor'.

Contrast with *ni* can clearly be seen in:

19. *Yeye yu mume wangu* 'He is (has been and will be) my husband' (can be used only by someone still married).

20. *Yeye ni mume wangu* 'He is my husband' (can be used by someone married, or by a widow, e.g. in pointing to a picture).

Often, however, the *Vpf/ni* distinction is neutralized. *Wewe ni mtoto mbaya* and *Wewe u mtoto mbaya* 'You are a naughty child', for example, alternate freely except when the speaker wishes to imply the child is bad only in this one instance; if so, only *ni* is possible, but even then the sentence *Wewe ni mtoto mbaya* is ambiguous.

Occasionally *Vpf* may co-occur with *–w–*, but this construction is primarily limited to sentences with adverb *bado* 'still'. Then *Vpf* implies continuation through the period referred to:

21. *Mwaka jana Fatuma alikuwa yu mwanafunzi bado* 'Last year Fatuma was still a student'.

22. *John alikuwa yu mume wangu bado* 'John was still my husband'.

When *-w-* and *Vpf* co-occur, *Vpf* must follow (note the parrallel with *ni*). *Neg* may also be supported by either *-w-* or *Vpf*; *Neg* + *-w-* + *Vpf* sequences are, however, extremely rare; K in fact does not accept them:

23. ?*Baba hakuwa yu baharia bado* 'My father was not a sailor yet' (by profession).
24. ?*Sisi tulikuwa hatu baharia bado* 'We were not sailors yet'.

The negative form of *Vpf* is actually very uncommon in any sentence except in constructions like:

25. *Hatu wapishi* 'We are not cooks'.

26. *Ham wanafunzi* 'You are not students'.

The third person singular negative form:

27. *Hayu mpishi* 'He is not a cook'.

is considered archaic, and the third person plural *hawa* is not accepted at all, probably because it could be ambiguous with Demonstrative Pronoun + NP_2 (e.g. *Hawa walimu* 'These are teachers', **Hawa walimu* 'They are not teachers').

Vpf may not co-occur with *ndio* to be discussed below. Further restrictions on *Vpf*, if it is used at all, depend on certain NP_1 .. NP_2 co-occurrences (q.v. Part II, 87), or are imposed by idiolect, style, and the semantic domain of 'continuity'. *Vpf* is not restricted to first and second persons in identification copulas (those with Predicate Nominal) as Mrs. Ashton suggests, except in the negative. She would allow *Tu wapishi* 'We are cooks', *U mpishi* 'You are a cook', but not *Yu mpishi* 'He is a cook';[9] the latter and several other similar constructions are, however, acceptable. *Vpf* is also not restricted to those verb prefixes which have the same morphological shape as the prefix of the nominal with which they are in concord, as Loogman suggests;[10] if dialectally acceptable at all, all forms of *Vpf* are permitted, other than the negatives discussed above, and any *Vpf* in concord with the plural of the *m/wa* and *ji/ma* classes (since they are ambiguous with the genitive formants in concord with these classes).

PATTERNS WITH *NDI-/NDIYO/NDIO*:

Textbooks on Swahili usually discuss a copulative *ndi-* (negative *si-*) which takes the '*-O* of reference'; they do not, however, mention two other formatives which also occur in NP_1 .. NP_2 position: *ndio* (negative *sio*), which is another specifier, and $ndiyo_2$ (negative *siyo*). The latter is not to be confused with the well-known homonymous sentence Adverb $ndiyo_1$ (negative *siyo*) 'It is (not) so'. The three formants appear to be morphologically related; they share the syntactic characteristics of occurrence in copula sentences, and they are mutually exclusive. They must, however, be treated as separate elements since they have contrasting functions and have markedly different co-occurrence restrictions:

28. *Mtoto ndiye kiumbe* 'The child (referred to) is a creature'; ambiguous with 'The child is the creature (referred to)'.[11]

29. *Mtoto ndiyo kiumbe* 'A child is (as you say) a creature' (used almost exclusively with high stress and high intonation on *ndiyo*, q.v. Part IV, IP II:x; limited to statements).

30. *Mtoto ndio kiumbe* 'A child is (defined as) a creature' (usually without stress on *ndio*; used in questions and statements).

(*A*) *NDI-:*

Mrs. Ashton says of this formative:

> The *-O* of reference, preceded by the appropriate concord, forms a pronominal or adverbial complement of the copula except in the Singular Personal Class.
>
> Note the replacement of *ni* by *ndi-*, which takes the word stress. (*ni* as copula is never stressed).

These forms are often spoken of as the "Emphatic" forms of the copula *ni-* (*sic*). They are used to define more sharply the nominal, pronominal or adverbial antecedent to which they refer.[12]

The following points may be noted:

(a) *Ndi* - does not replace *ni*, it occurs with it (even if only rarely).

(b) *Ni* is frequently stressed (cf. its use with IP II:x, Part IV).

(c) While *-O* may function as a pronominal or adverbial complement, this is by no means the only function available to it. It may form a subject pronominal as in *Ndiye ni msichana* 'That one (referred to) is a girl'; or it may be used in a limited appositional construction, as in 28. Furthermore, it is not restricted to copula constructions, although it is most frequently found there: *Mtu ndiye alikwenda sokoni* 'That man (referred to) went to the market'.

When *ndi-* + *-O* is used as an optional limiter of a nominal it may occur only once in any one main clause pattern. We therefore find either:

$$NP_1\ (Neg)\ (ndi- + -O)\ (\ldots -w- \ldots)\ \left(\left\{\begin{matrix} ni \\ Vpf \end{matrix}\right\}\right)^{NP_2}$$

where *-O* is preceded by concord with NP_1 or:

$$NP_1\ (Neg)\ (\ldots -w- \ldots)\ \left(\left\{\begin{matrix} ni \\ Vpf \end{matrix}\right\}\right)(ndi- + -O)\ NP_2$$

where *-O* is preceded by concord with NP_2.[13] In either case the nominal expression with which *ndi-* + *-O* is in concord may not be expanded by the modifier Demonstrative:

31. **Mtu huyu ndiye ni mganga* 'That man referred to is a doctor'.

but:

32. *Mtu huyu ni ndiye mganga* 'That man is the doctor referred to'.

where *ndi-* + *-O* limits NP_2.

Sentences with *...-w-...ndi-* + *-O* + NP_2 are quite common. On the other hand the sequence *...ni* + *ndi-* + *-O* + NP_2 is only marginally acceptable in simple sentences; but it is fully acceptable if a relative clause modifies NP_2:

33. *Kipawa chake ndicho kifani* (a) 'His talent referred to is a match'.

(b) 'His talent is the match referred to'.

34. *Kipawa chake ndicho* (*kilikuwa*) *ni kifani* 'His talent referred to is/(was) exactly a match'.

35. *Kipawa chake kilikuwa ndicho kifani* 'His talent was the match referred to'.

36. *Mtoto ni ndicho kiumbe tulichokuwa tukikizungumza* 'A/the child is exactly the creature we were talking about'.

Intonational grouping is the same whether *ndi-* + *-O* is in concord with NP_1 or NP_2; i.e. *ndi-...* occurs in the intonational group of the *Cop*. In this and its failure to co-occur with itself in a simple sentence, and in its ability to support *Neg*, it contrasts with Demonstrative and other expansions of *NP* (these participate in the *NP* intonational group):

37. *Mvulana huyu mtoto wangu* 'This boy is my child'.

38. *Mvulana ndiye mtoto wangu* 'The boy referred to is my child'.

On the other hand, in its association with the pronominal *-O* of reference and in its ability to be directly dominated by *NP* in Subject, Predicate Nominal and Adverb functions, it is unlike the specifying formants of *Cop*. Some speakers associate certain

occurrences of *ndi-* + *-O* with *ni* + appositive Personal Pronoun. E.g. *Chiriku ndiye ndege* 'The finch referred to is a bird', is thought of as connected with *Chiriku ni yeye ndege* 'A finch, specifically it referred to, is a bird'; *Ali hakuwa ndiye mpishi wake?* 'Was Ali not that cook of his?' is connected with *Ali hakuwa ni yeye mpishi wake?* 'Was Ali, specifically he whom we have referred to, not his cook?'

At this stage, when the pronominal and adverbial systems of Swahili have not been adequately investigated, only a tentative analysis can be given. Pending further study, *ndi-* + *-O* can be considered as an appositional referential pronoun which has strict restrictions on co-occurrence with nominal modifiers.

(B) *NDIYO*$_2$:

Another formative which is part of the referential system of Swahili discourse in *ndiyo*$_2$. It occurs optionally in strings of the type:

$$NP_1\ (Neg)\ (ndiyo_2)\ (\ldots\text{-w-}\ldots)\ \left(\left\{\begin{matrix}ni\\Vpf\end{matrix}\right\}\right)\ NP_2$$

where it is mostly accompanied by IP II:x or IP II:ii:a (q.v. Part IV). When *Neg* is present it is always attached to *ndiyo*$_2$, not to *-w-*, *ni*, or *Vpf* (cf. 41).

Ndiyo$_2$ is used in answers to truth questions to affirm or negate the (*Cop*) NP_2 proposition of the question. Very rarely it may be used to affirm or negate *VP*, also in answer to a truth question (cf. 44). NP_1 is frequently not repeated in the answer (cf. 42), or the word order of the answer may be shifted (cf. 43).

39 Q. *Saimon ni mwanafunzi?* 'Is Saimon a student?'

A. (a) *Saimon ndiyo ni mwanafunzi* 'Saimon is a student'. (i.e. Saimon, certainly = a student).

(b) *Saimon siyo ni mwanafunzi* 'Saimon is not a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly not = a student).

40 Q. *Saimon si mwanafunzi?* 'Is Saimon not a student?'

A. (a) *Saimon ndiyo ni mwanafunzi* 'Saimon *is* a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly = student).

(b) *Saimon siyo ni mwanafunzi* 'Saimon is not a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly not = a student).

41 Q. *Baba alikuwa si baharia?* freely alternating with *Baba hakuwa ni baharia?* 'Was father not a sailor?'

A. (a) *Baba ndiyo alikuwa ni baharia* 'Father was a sailor'.

(b) *Baba siyo alikuwa ni baharia* 'Father was not a sailor'. (N.B. no alternation with* *Baba ndiyo hakuwa ni baharia* or * *Baba ndiyo alikuwa si baharia*).

42 Q. *Kipawa chake kilikuwa kifani?* 'Was his talent a match?'

A. *Ndiyo kilikuwa kifani* 'It was a match'.

43 Q. *Kipawa chake kifani?* 'Is his talent a match?'

A. *Ndiyo kifani kipawa chake* 'It was a match, his talent'.

44 Q. *Saimon ndiyo alikwenda sokoni?* 'Did Saimon go to the market?' (i.e. Is it true: went to the market?).

A. *Ndiyo alikwenda sokoni* 'He certainly went to the market'.

The *-yo* of this formant may be considered pronominal. The question arises whether *ndiyo*$_2$ should be considered a specialized form of the appositive *ndi-* + *-O* discussed above, or whether it should be treated separately. In the interests of simplicity of description and explanation of the partial similarity in function and behaviour between *ndiyo*$_2$ and the Sentence Adverb *ndiyo*$_1$ to be discussed below, *ndiyo*$_2$ is here classified together with *Neg* as a Preverbal Adverb. As such, its domain is (*Cop*) *NP*$_2$ and occasionally the verb phrase. Decision as to the status of *-yo* is left for further investigation of pronominals.

As a formative of the referential system, *ndiyo*$_2$ has a double function. In the answer, *ndiyo*$_2$ affirms Predicate relationship, or (supported by *Neg*) negates it. But whether the formative affirms or negates the proposition of the previous question depends on whether the question did or did not contain *Neg*. *Ndiyo*$_2$ in A. affirms (*Cop*) NP$_2$ in Q. if Q. was affirmative; it negates it if Q. was negative. Conversely, *Neg* + *ndiyo*$_2$ in A. negates (*Cop*) *NP*$_2$ in Q. only if Q. was affirmative; it affirms it if Q. was negative. Table I is provided as an abstraction of 39—41 to demonstrate the gross features of *ndiyo*$_2$ structures discussed in this section:

39 Q.	X				ni Y	
A.	a. X		ndiyo		ni Y	(affirms Q.)
	b. X	Neg	ndiyo		ni Y	(negates Q.)
40 Q.	X	Neg			ni Y	
A.	a. X		ndiyo		ni Y	(negates Q.)
	b. X	Neg	ndiyo		ni Y	(affirms Q.)
41 Q.	X	Neg		-w-	ni Y	
A.	a. X		ndiyo	-w-	ni Y	(negates Q.)
	b. X	Neg	ndiyo	-w-	ni Y	(affirms Q.)

TABLE I: *NDIYO*$_2$ CONSTRUCTIONS

Ndiyo$_2$ contrasts with the Sentence Adverb (*Neg*) *ndiyo*$_1$ which occurs sentence-initially in statements and sentence-finally in questions. This Sentence Adverb has its own mid-level intonation group, separated by comma pause from the rest of the utterance (contrast *ndiyo*$_2$ in 39—44 which occurs in the same intonation pattern as the following *NP*). This Sentence Adverb is also part of the referential system, but has as its domain the whole previous sentence; hence (*Neg*) *ndiyo*$_1$ may co-occur with e.g. ...(*Neg*) *ni*...

Ndiyo$_1$ is not used primarily in copula constructions; it imposes no context-restrictions on the sentence with which it is in construction.

45 Q. *Kodi ni muhimu?* 'Is tax a "must"?'

A. (a) *Ndiyo, kodi ni muhimu* 'That is the case, tax is a "must" '.

(b) *Siyo, kodi ni muhimu* 'That is not the case, tax is not a "must" '.

46 Q. *Kodi si muhimu?* 'Is tax not essential?'

A. (a) *Ndiyo, si muhimu* 'That is the case, it is not essential'.

(b) *Siyo, ni muhimu* 'That is not the case, it is essential'.

47 Q. *Saimon si mwanafunzi tuliyemzungumza?* 'Is Saimon not the student we were talking about?'

A. *Siyo, ndiyo mwanafunzi* 'That is not so, he is indeed the student'.

It is interesting to note that in truth questions, to which it may be added as a tag, a combination of $ndiyo_1$ and a preceding affirmative sentence is often taken to be sarcastic, as is an affirmative tag question after an affirmative statement in English:

48. *Mume stara, ndiyo?* 'A husband is a protection, is that the case?' (dubious, sarcastic, cf. English *A husband is a protection, is he?*).

49. *Mume stara, siyo?* 'A husband is a protection is that not the case?'

(C) *NDIO*:

The formative *ndio* is mutually exclusive with *ni* and *Vpf*. Like them it is a specifier of copula relationship (specifically definition); but unlike them it may occur before or after *–w–*.

Most commonly *ndio* is used in answers to content questions:

50 Q. *Mtoto ni nini?* 'What is a child?'

A. (a) *Mtoto ndio kiumbe* 'A child is defined as a creature'.

(b) *Mtoto ni kiumbe* 'A child is a creature'.

51 Q. *Chiriku ni nini?* 'What is a finch?'

A. *Chiriku ndio ndege* 'A finch is defined as a bird'.

50a expresses definition, while 50b implies *mtoto* is an example of *kiumbe*, or is a member of the class *kiumbe*.

The construction may also be used in truth questions to enquire about definition.

52. *Samaki ndio nini?* 'What does "fish" mean?', or "What is "fish"?'

53. *Kuiba ndio nini?* 'What is the meaning of "stealing"?'

In both instances *Neg* is very rarely found.

A related usage is in corrections, negative responses to truth questions and in echo questions. Here negative is frequently used. In a situation where someone states that *Jiwe ni kiumbe* 'A stone is a living creature' or else asks whether it is one, the correction or answer might be:

54. *Jiwe sio kiumbe* 'A stone is not (defined as) a living creature'.

An incredulous echo might be:

55. *Jiwe ndio kiumbe?* 'A stone is defined as a creature?!'

When *ndio* co-occurs with *–w–* it may, as mentioned above, occur before or after it, apparently with no difference of meaning:

56. *Chiriku hakuwa ndio jiwe* in free variation with *Chiriku ndio hakuwa jiwe* 'The bird was not defined as a stone'.

ABSENCE OF COPULA:

Cop, with its members *–w–* and the specifiers *ni*, *Vpf*, *ndio*, is optional for all sentences having copula function, with three restrictions:

(a) If *Neg* is the only realization of Preverbal Adverb, then at least one member of *Cop* must be present to support it.

(b) When *Cop* is not chosen, and $ndiyo_2$ is also not, the construction may not undergo a word order shift such that $NP_1 + Pred \rightarrow Pred + NP_1$. This is presumably because $NP_2 + NP_1$ would be ambiguous with $NP_1 + NP_2$. Therefore, while *Baba ni baharia* 'My father is a sailor' may be shifted to

Ni baharia baba 'A sailor, that's what my father is', *Baba haharia* may not be shifted to *Baharia baba*. The latter utterance occurs, but only meaning 'The sailor is my father', never 'A sailor, that's what my father is' (q.v. Part III).

(c) When *Cop* is not selected, then the only intonation patterns available are those with a break between NP_1 and NP_2 (q.v. Part IV, Types II:i and II:ii). Because of this restriction there is no ambiguity in the spoken language between sentences and phrases. In writing, however, such an ambiguity does arise, cf.

57. *Ali mwalimu* (a) 'Ali is a teacher'.
(b) 'Ali, the teacher'.

It is particularly common when Predicate Adjective rather than Predicate Nominal is present:

58. *Mtoto mchafu* (a) 'The child is dirty'.
(b) 'The dirty child'.

In writing, therefore, copula sentences without *Cop* are avoided.

CONCORD:

The general rule for concord is that main verbs, auxiliaries, verb prefixes, modifiers and limiters of *NP* all agree (if present) in number and class membership with the noun realizing NP_1 (the Subject). Limiters and modifiers of NP_2 are the only items which show concord with NP_2.

Sentences which show concord between *Cop* and NP_1 are statistically actually rather few, since *ni* alone is by far the most common realization of *Cop*. Among those sentences investigated in which concord was marked in *Cop*, a few were found which countered the general rule outlined above; in these concord was dictated by NP_2. For example, beside the expected:

59 a. *Kilimo hiki kilikuwa kazi* 'This digging was work'.
there is also:

b. *Kilimo hiki ilikuwa kazi* 'This digging was wórk'.

with concord between Verb Prefix and NP_2. Concord with NP_1 in (a) emphasizes NP_1, concord with NP_2 in (b) emphasizes NP_2. Furthermore, M feels that concord with NP_1 implies the speaker assumes the predicate relationship is known, but that if concord is with NP_2 then the speaker assumes the predicate relationship is unknown and that he is providing the listener with new information. Therefore (b) would be used perhaps in response to someone who did not know what work was, or who thought cultivation was a soft option, but (a) would be a redundant remark, used perhaps when coming home tired from the field. It is not possible to derive (b) as an inversion of some sentence like *Kazi ilikuwa kilimo hiki* 'The work was this digging' since *kazi* is semantically specific in this sentence, while *kazi* in 59b can have specific or non-specific reference.

Other examples are:

60 a. *Kusaidiana ku uungwana* 'To hélp one another is humanity'.
b. *Kusaidiana u uungwana* 'To help one another is humánity'.

61 a. *Mtoto yu kiumbe* 'A child is a living being'.
b. *Mtoto ki kiumbe* 'A child is a living béing'.
c. *Yu kiumbe mtoto* 'A living being, that's what a child is'.
d. *Ki kiumbe mtoto* 'A living béing, that's what a child is'.

Where both NP_1 and NP_2 belong to the same morphological class, the sentence is ambiguous. The tendency to associate first position in the sentence with emphasis, however, causes most such ambiguous sentences to be interpreted as of type (a).

There is a wide disagreement among users of *Vpf* as to where concord with NP_2 is permissible, except in the following set of sentences:

62 a. *Biriani i chakula* 'Biriáni is a food'.

b. *Biriani ki chakula* 'Biriani is a fóod'.

Six out of the ten speakers who accepted *Vpf* at all rejected 62a and claimed only 62b was possible. Perhaps this special concord relationship is attributable to the fact that *biriani* is a loan word (and also a loan dish). Native foods do not appear to allow concord with *chakula* so readily. For example, some of the speakers who insist on 62b also insist on the (a) form, if *Vpf* is to be used at all, in:

63 a. *Wali/ugali/muhogo u chakula* 'Cooked rice/porridge/cassava is a food'.

b. *Wali/ugali/muhogo ki chakula* 'Cooked rice/porridge/cassava is a food'.

64 a. *Samaki yu chakula* 'Fish is a food'.

b. *Samaki ki chakula* 'Fish is a food'.

M does, however, allow all the (b) forms as well as the (a).

SUMMARY OF PATTERNS:

This survey suggests that at least the underlying structural patterns charted in Table II must be established for the simple copula sentence in Swahili.

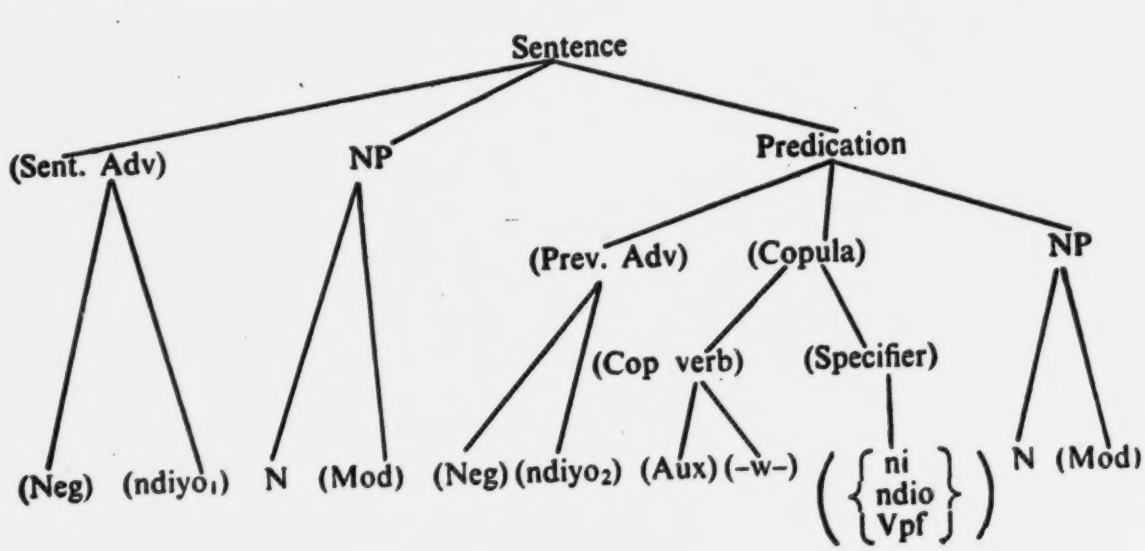

TABLE II: UNDERLYING STRUCTURES

The table shows the structural groupings of categories in the copula pattern 'Sentence' consists of optional Sentence Adverb + Noun Phrase + Predication; the Predication consists of optional Preverbal Adverb + optional Copula + Noun Phrase, etc. Not included in the table are other possible choices not discussed in this paper, such as Adjective or Adverb instead of NP_2, or the choice of Verb Phrase instead of (*Cop*) NP_2. Furthermore, the table does not include the concord relations, nor various restrictions on Negative Adverb, etc., the optional position of *ndio* before *-w-*, nor the optional appositional *ndi-* + *-O*, since these may all be regarded as obligatory or optional operations on the basic structure outlined here.

PART II: THE STRUCTURE OF 'NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS'

So far it has been assumed that *NP* can be realized as any *N*(oun) in copula constructions. Certain gross restrictions must, however, be made on the realizations of *NP* and also on the co-occurrence of such realizations across *Cop*.

In broadest terms, *NP* may be realized as any *N* with its class-number prefix, and optionally any one or more of a series of modifiers including Demonstrative, Adjective, Possessive, etc.[14] Otherwise it may be realized as a pronominal form such as *Dem*(onstrative)–*Pro*(noun), *Pers*(onal)–*Pro*(noun), *Inter* (rogative)–*Pro*(noun). A third possibility is that a verbal expression may function as an *NP*, i.e. *NP* may be realized by a nominalization. This nominalization takes the form of *kwamba* or *kuwa* + *Sentence*, or of an infinitive construction *kuM*(ain) *V*(erb).

More specifically, however, various restrictions pertain between realizations of *NP* as follows:

BOTH *NP*s ARE REALIZED AS ...*N*...:

When both *NP*s are realized as ...*N*..., both are usually members of the same sub-category of *N*, e.g. both will be animate or inanimate or abstract nouns. How far further generalization is possible within terms of the syntactic structure of the language is, however, unclear. For example, that *Mchicha ni mboga* 'Spinach is a vegetable' is acceptable while *Mchicha ni mti* 'Spinach is a tree' is considered marginal, appears to be semantic, not syntactic.

Two exceptions to the generalization may be noted. Any ...*N*... in *NP* position may co-occur with *kitu* 'thing' in NP_2 position (this kind of sentence is usually interrogative):

65. *Mwalimu ni kitu gani?* 'What kind of a thing is a teacher?'

66. *Ali ni kitu gani?* 'What kind of thing is Ali?'

When across (*Cop*) from *N* animate *kitu* is usually pejorative, and so may be considered a special deviant usage. The other exception is also deviant. There is a set of sentences in which any sub-category of *N* may occur with any other:

67. *Mama ni kero* 'Mother is a nuisance'.

68. *Ujinga ni nyumba ya giza* 'Ignorance is a house of darkness'.

These constructions are almost all proverbial or metaphorical and so part of a special style and linguistic environment.

In most cases number remains constant across (*Cop*); some singular mass nouns such as *chakula* 'food' may, however, co-occur with plurals:

69 a. *Viazi ni chakula* 'Potatoes are food'.

b. **Viazi ni vyakula* 'Potatoes are foods'.

ONE OR MORE *NP*s ARE REALIZED BY PRONOUNS:

Pronouns are unlike *N*s in that most of them are restricted in position and co-occur with only a few modifiers. If only one *NP* is realized as *Pers—Pro* or *Dem–Pro*, then it must be NP_1:

70. *Yeye ni mlevi* 'He is a drunkard'.

71. *Huyu ni ndege* 'This is a bird'.

On the other hand, if only one *NP* is realized as *Poss–Pro*, then it must be NP_2:

72. *Ndege ni wangu* 'The bird is mine'.

Forms like *Mlevi ni yeye* and *Wangu ni ndege* do occur, but they are special emphatic versions of 70 and 71, or else they occur as embeddings in complex sentences such as *Nyumba yako nzuri, yangu nzuri sana* 'Your house is good, mine especially good'; in either case this order cannot be considered part of the underlying structure (q.v. Part III).

Nani 'who' and *nini* 'what' are the only *Inter–Pro* forms investigated here. *Nani* occurs as an interrogative pronominal for any *N* 'human':

73 Q. *Nani ni mwalimu?* 'Who is the teacher?'

A. e.g. *Bw. Mwakatoga* 'Mr. Mwakatoga', or *Huyu* 'This man'.

74 Q. *Mwalimu ni nani?* 'The teacher is who?'

A. e.g. Ibid.

75 Q. *Nani ni mume?* 'Who (which of you) is a husband?'

A. e.g. *Mimi* 'I am'.

Nini is commonly used as the *Inter–Pro* form of *N* 'non-animate' or of a nominalization (e.g. infinitive or *kwamba/kuwa* nominalizations). It is restricted to NP_2 position when only one *NP* is realized by an interrogative:

76 Q. *Hasira ni nini?* 'Anger is what?'

A. *Hasara* 'Loss'.

77 Q. *Kazi ni nini?* 'Work is what?'

A. *Ni kulea mwana, kuchimba na ...* 'It is to bring up children, to cultivate and...'

The form of *Inter–Pro* is chosen not according to concord relationship across *Cop*, but according to the expectation of syntactic subcategory in the answer. The syntactic sub-categorization of prime relevance is the distinction human vs. non-human; animate vs. non-animate is of no relevance here, although elsewhere in the system (e.g. concord with Adjectives, Demonstratives, *Vpf*s) an *N* which is animate and non-human takes on the human concords (*m–/wa–* class). For example:

78 Q. *Samaki ni nini?* 'Fish is what?'

A. *Chakula* (non-human, non-animate *N*) 'Food'.

79 Q. *Samaki ni nini?* 'Fish is what?'

A. *Mnyama* (non-human, animate *N*) 'An animal'.

80 Q. *Samaki ni nani*? 'Fish is who?' (i.e. 'Who is playing the part of Fish?').

A. *Salma* (human, animate *N*) 'Salma'.

NOMINALIZATIONS:

Infinitive nominalizations of the type *kuMV* are common. Either or both *NP*s may be realized by such a nominalization; if only one is, then the other must be realized by an *N* belonging to a class including:

kazi	'work'	*desturi*	'habit'
haki	'justice'	*kawaida*	'habit'
wajibu	'necessity'	*shabaha*	'aim, intention'
jambo	'matter'	*madhumuni*	'aim, intention'

shida	'difficulty'	*maana*	'reason'
kosa	'error'	*sababu*	'reason'
bahati	'luck	*jibu*	'answer'

81. *Kulea mwana ni kazi* 'To look after a child is work'.

82. *Ili kumpa uwezo Rais kumteua mtu kuweza kuendelea kazi ni jambo la maana sana* 'So that to give the President the power to choose a man to bring about progress in work is a matter of great importance'.[15]

83. *Madhumuni ni kuwapokea na kuwatazama mpaka waondoke* 'The intention is to welcome them and look after them until they leave.'

84. *Kazi ni kulea mwana* 'The job is to bring up (the) children'.

85. *Kumsaidia kuondoa maradhi ... ni kumweka mahali ambapo pakukaa* 'To help him eliminate disease is to put him in a place where he can live'.[16]

86. *Kucheka ni kufurahi* 'To laugh is to rejoice'.

A special subset of *kuMV* nominalizations is that in which both NP_1 and NP_2 dominate a *ku*-nominalization such that *MV* is in both cases realized as *–w– na NP* 'be with *NP*'.[17] In such sentences both *kuwa na* may be deleted, or else just the *kuwa na* dominated by NP_1:

87 a. *Kuwa na mume ni kuwa na shoga* 'Having a husband is having a friend/ A husband is a friend'.

b. *Mume ni kuwa na shoga* Ibid.

c. *Mume ni shoga* Ibid.

Since the *NP*s are derived from nominalized sentences, there is no restriction on the subclass of *N* selected across (*Cop*) in 87 b and c. Of particular interest is the fact that when either or both *kuwa na* are present, then *Vpf* may not occur; when neither is present, however, *Vpf* is permissible:

87 d. *Mume yu shoga* 'Having a husband is having a friend/A husband is a friend'.

e. **Kuwa na mume ku shoga*

Nominalizations with *kwamba/kuwa* + *Sentence* occur as realizations of NP_2 only. They appear across (*Cop*) from any member of the class of *N*s outlined at the beginning of this section. Usually this *N* is modified by an *Adj* such as *muhimu* 'important' or by a genitive phrase (*–a* + *NP*).

Copulas with *kwamba/kuwa* nominalizations require special study. *Kwamba* is intuitively related to definiteness and necessity; a sequence of co-ordinate verb phrases is expected within the nominalization, or at least Verb Phrase + Adverb of Manner. *Kuwa* is intuitively connected with indefiniteness and lack of necessity; a single verb phrase is expected. Both subordinators can introduce an indicative or a subjunctive sentence. Since the subjunctive often implies necessity, there is a problem in the analysis of *kwamba* sentences with subjunctives in the dependant clause. Note, however, that 88 b and c both have subjunctive dependant clauses, but only the one introduced by *kwamba* signals obligation.

A set of contrasting sentences, including contrast with a *kuMV* nominalization is provided by:

88 a. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kutengeneza madirisha* 'A very important matter is to fix the windows' (generalization).

b. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kwamba watengeneze madirisha na watomee ukuta* 'A very important matter is that they should fix the windows and plaster the walls' (expresses obligation).

c. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kuwa watengeneze madirisha* Ibid. (except used as suggestion only; 'they' may choose not to fix the windows).

89. *Haja yetu ni kwamba tufanye jambo la maana* 'Our need is to do something useful' (and we are obligated to do it).

90. *Jibu lake ni kuwa haji* 'His reply is that he (probably) won't come'.

Kwamba and *kuwa* may themselves introduce a *kuMV* nominalization. Here *kwamba* and *kuwa* appear to be introducers of appositive sentences, perhaps translatable as '*NP* is as follows: Sentence'. It is noticeable that, like sentences with *kuMV* (cf. 88a) but no *kwamba/kuwa*, they are generalizations related to people in general, not to people in particular (contrast 88b, c where *watengeneze* specifies particular known persons). While *kwamba* introduces an appositive regarded as a necessity or obligation, *kuwa* introduces an appositive regarded as a likely act; *kwamba* is associated with repeated actions, *kuwa* with single, unrepeated ones:

91 a. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kwamba kutengeneza madirisha na kutomea ukuta* 'A very important matter is the following: that people should fix the windows and plaster the walls' (in general).

b. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kuwa kutengeneza madirisha kesho* 'A very important matter is the following: that someone should fix the windows tomorrow' (a single action, important, but the speaker recognizes that it may not be carried out).

92. *Wajibu wao ni kwamba kujua kanuni za Tanu, kudumisha uhuru, na kuongeza uchumi wa nchi* 'Their duty is the following: that everyone should know the rules of Tanu, should perpetuate freedom, and further the economy of the nation'.

PART III: WORD ORDER

The word order patterns of NP_1 (*Prev. Adv*) (*Cop*) NP_2 constructions are of three types: (i) basic order: *NP* + *Predication*; (ii) inverted order: NP_2 (*Prev. Adv*) (*Cop*) NP_1 restricted to sentences where *NP* is realized as *Pers–Pro*, *Poss–Pro*, *Dem–Pro* or a *kwamba/kuwa* + *Sentence* nominalization; (iii) shifted order: *Predication* + *NP* [shift of (i) or (*Prev. Adv.*) (*Cop*) NP_1 + NP_2 (shift of (ii)].

BASIC ORDER:

As indicated in Part II, strict grammatical restrictions on word order apply only in special cases of Pronominal forms and *kwamba/kuwa* + *sentence* nominalizations. Normal, i.e. unemphatic, order is as follows:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{N (Modifier)}\\ \text{kuMV}\\ \text{nani}\\ \text{Pers-Pro}\\ \text{Dem-Pro}\end{array}\right\}_1 \text{ (Prev. Adv) (Cop) } \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{N (Modifier)}\\ \text{kuMV}\\ \text{nani}\\ \text{nini}\\ \text{Poss-Pro}\\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{kwamba}\\ \text{kuwa}\end{array}\right\}\text{ Sentence}\end{array}\right\}_2$$

where any member of 1 may co-occur with any member of 2, subject to the context-restrictions on subclassification outlined in Parts I and II.

INVERSION:

Inversion occurs only in those sentences where there is restriction on the realization of *NP*, i.e. in sentences with *Pro*-forms (excluding, however, *nani*) and *kwamba/kuwa* + *Sentence*. Elsewhere inversion is only apparent. No particular emphasis is, for example, signalled by either of the sentences *Kucheka ni kufurahi* 'To laugh is to be happy' and *Kufurahi ni kucheka* 'To be happy is to laugh' and neither can be taken as the base of the other. On the other hand, we have the following sets:

93 a. *Wewe ni mwalimu* 'You are a teacher'.

b. *Mwalimu ni wewe* 'A teacher , that's what you are'.

94 a. *Hayo si mwisho* 'This is not the end'.

b. *Mwisho si hayo* 'The end, that's not what this is'.

95 a. *Kitabu ni changu* 'The book is mine'.

b. *Changu ni kitabu* 'Mine, that's what the book is'.

96 a. *Jambo la ajabu ni kwamba hakuna giza* 'A matter of wonder is that there is no darkness'.

b. *Kwamba hakuna giza ni jambo la ajabu* 'That there is no darkness, that is a matter of wonder'.

Sentences like 96b are rare as there is a tendency to avoid complex constructions in sentence-initial position. 97b is barely acceptable not because of subclass or semantic imcompatibility, but because of the length of the initial *NP* construction, especially when compared to the length of the *NP* following *Cop*:

97 a. *Hili ni ombo langu kubwa sana ambalo ninaliomba* 'This is the very great prayer that I pray'.

b. *?Ombo langu kubwa sana ambalo ninaliomba ni hili.*

SHIFT:

Any acceptable basic sentence or inverted sentence may undergo shift. Where a particular *NP* + *Predication* construction is not permissible, whether on clearly grammatical or on semantic grounds, its shift is also not permissible.

93 c. *Ni mwalimu wewe* 'A teacher, you are' (shift of 93a).

d. *Ni wewe mwalimu* 'It's you who are a teacher' (shift of 93b).

94 c. *Si mwisho hayo* 'Not the end, is this'.

d. *Si hayo mwisho* 'Not this, is the end'.

96 c. *Ni kwamba hakuna giza jambo la ajabu* 'It's that there is no darkness that is a matter of wonder'.

98 a. *Kuiba ni kuasi* 'To steal is to commit a crime'.

c. *Ni kuasi kuiba* 'To commit a crime, that is to steal'.

99 a. **Kuasi ni kuiba* 'To commit a crime is to steal' (unacceptable to M and K since *kuasi* to them requires enumeration, as *kuasi* refers semantically to an activity more general than that referred to in *kuiba*).

c. **Ni kuiba kuasi.*

The translations, introducing as they do many pronominal forms, are not entirely satisfactory. It is the position of the emphasis in combination with word order that counts.

The tendency of Swahili speakers to avoid complex constructions at the beginning of the sentence accounts for the fact that while 96a, d are common, 96b, c are rare. Relative frequency or infrequency of a certain base form may have no bearing on the relative frequency or infrequency of an inverted or shifted form; the criterion is whether the base is acceptable at all, and whether or not any complex realization of *NP* is at the beginning in the surface structure.

Shifts must always be accompanied by an intonation break after *Pred* (or after (*Preverbal Adv*) (*Cop*) NP_1 in the case of shifted inversions), and also by $ndiyo_2$ or some realization of *Cop* (presumably to avoid ambiguity with $NP_1 + NP_2$ constructions). Only question-word copulas with *nini* permit absence of any realization of *Cop:*

100 a. *Meza* (*Cop*) *nini?* 'What is a table?'

b. **Nini* (*Cop*) *meza?*

c. (*Cop*) *nini meza?* 'It's what, a table?' (shift of 100a).

d. *(*Cop*) *meza nini?* (shift of 100b).

Since 100b is impossible as the question-word is invariably a realization of NP_2 if it is the only *nini* in the sentence, *Nini meza?* is unambiguously derived by shift from *Meza nini?* and cannot be the inversion **Nini* (*Cop*) *meza?*.

PART IV: INTONATION PATTERNS[18]

I(ntonation) *P*(atterns) are the same for underlying sentences and their inversions. They are also the same for shifts and shifted inversions. The rules in this section are therefore specified for the overt Noun Phrase + Predication structures, not for the underlying structures.

The main *IP*s associated with copula constructions have the following features: (i) they are continuous or else broken by brief pause; (ii) they end in a fall or a rise; (iii) these rises and falls are themselves of two types: staccato or non-staccato rise, and fall from a mid or from a high point; (iv) non-continuous *IP*s begin level or non-level.

IP ⟶ [{continuous / non-continuous} {fall / rise}]

fall ⟶ {high fall / mid fall}

rise ⟶ {staccato rise / non-staccato rise}

continuous ⟶ {level / non-level}

(Square Brackets indicate simultaneous categories; the arrow indicates 'realized as'.)

Continuous *IP*s (*IP* Type I) are those spread without interruption over surface structure Noun Phrase + Predication. They are limited to unshifted sentences and to those in which at least one member of (*Preverbal Adv*) (*Cop*) is present. Non-continuous *IP*s (Type II) consist of two parts with predictable domains (a special pattern with three parts will be discussed separately). The domains are the surface structure:

Noun Phrase + Predication and Predication + Noun Phrase.
All sentences in which both *Prev. Adv* and *Cop* are absent must be non-continuous.

*IP*s with a level beginning (*IP* Type i) are common. The intonation is mid level from the beginning of the utterance at least through NP_1, or in the case of shifts, through *Predication*. Non-level patterns (Type ii) begin at mid level and rise on the stressed syllable of the *N* of the first *NP*.[19] If the first *NP* starts with a stressable syllable the intonation naturally starts high.

Mid falls (Type a) are associated with statements and content-word questions; high falls (Type b) with 'truth-questions' when asked for the first time. All falling patterns, whether they start from a mid or high point, have free variants in which the fall occurs either during the penultimate (stressed) syllable, or else as a step down from stressed to final (unstressed) syllable.

Non-staccato rises (Type c) are characterized by smooth rises and slight stress on the final (usually unstressed) syllable; they are associated with rhetorical questions and echo-questions. Staccato rises (Type d) are characterized by markedly staccato, slightly stressed, final syllables, the staccato often accompanied by phonetic glottalization; they are associated with questions asked a second time or in anxious, animated etc. debate. All rises begin on the final fully stressed syllable of the utterance; there may be a slight drop in pitch before the final syllable, but the final syllable starts at approximately the same pitch as the high point of the previous syllable and fades upwards.

All possible combinations of the types mentioned above occur. Different sets of combinations are used to signal different attitudes.

IP TYPE I:

Continuous *IP*s are usually used in casual, 'light' conversation; in certain contexts they may imply dismissal of a worthless topic, unconcern, petulance, even rudeness. Only in answers constructed with *ndio* is the unbroken *IP* used for careful, deliberate speech.

I:a. *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbȁ*, in free variation with *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbȁ* 'Our job is to dig' (might be used as a disgruntled reply).

Pambo ndio mezȁ 'A decoration is what a/the table is' (answer to e.g. *Meza ni nini?* 'What is a/the table?').

Mume ni nini? 'What is a husband?' (implication that speaker is bored).

I:b. *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbȁ*, in free variation with *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbȁ* 'Is our job to dig?' (casual question, or question asked for the first time).

I:c. *Mume ni stara*, in free variation with *Mume ni stara* 'A husband is a protection?' (echo).

I:d. *Mume ni starȃ*, in free variation with *Mume ni starȃ* 'Is a husband a protection?' (petulant, or asked a second time, or used in anxious, lively discussion).

IP TYPE II:i:

Non-continuous *IP*s with level beginnings are the most common; they are used in deliberate, thoughtful speech, usually without overtones of disregard, annoyance, etc.:

II:i:a. *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbà* 'Our job is to dig'.

Nani ni mwalimù 'Who is the teacher?'

II:i:b. *Mume ni starà* 'Is a husband a protection?' (serious question asked for the first time)

II:i:c. *Fatuma ni mwalimu* 'Fatuma is a teacher?' (echo).

II:i:d. *Mume ni stara* 'Is a husband a protection?' (second time).

IP TYPE II:ii.

These patterns are rare; they are used to emphasize the quality of NP_1 in respect of NP_2. NP_1 (*Prev. Adv*) (*Cop*) NP_2 constructions with this *IP* combination may be roughly translated as: NP_1 *is the greatest of* NP_2 where 'greatest' implies quality, not quantity.

II:ii:a. *Ali ni mwalimù* 'Ali is the greatest of teachers'.

Ni hasira dhambi 'Anger, that's the greatest of sins'.

II:ii:b. *Biriani ni chakulà* 'Is biriani the greatest of foods?' (question asked first time).

II:ii:c. *Ali ni mwalimu* 'Ali is the greatest of teachers?' (echo).

II:ii:d. *Joshua alikuwa mpishi* 'Was Joshua the greatest of cooks?' (insistent).

OTHER INTONATION PATTERNS

There are two other *IP*s, one continuous, the other non-continuous, but otherwise outside of the patterns described above.

The continuous *IP* starts high and falls throughout the pattern. It is used exclusively in content-word questions, sometimes pejoratively:

I:x. *Mume ni nini* 'What is a husband of all things?'

Nani ni mumè 'Who amongst you is a husband?'

The non-continuous pattern has the distinctive feature of high stress on *Cop*, and division into two or three predictable parts. It starts level and the fall is from mid. If either the formatives $ndiyo_2$ or *ndi-* + *-O* occurs, or *-w-*, then there are two parts, high stress occurring on *ndi...* or else the stressable syllable of *-w-*; when only *Vpf* or *ni* are present then there are three parts, the specifiers receiving high stress followed by pause. All sentences with $ndiyo_2$ have either this pattern (II.x) or else II:ii:a. *IP* II:x is usually associated with emphatic speech and signals emphasis on NP_2; it is not usually used with *ndio*.

II:x. *Kuchimbà ndiyo kazi yetù* 'Digging, that is our job'.

Ndiyo kulikuwa ni kazi yetu kuchimbà 'It was exactly digging that was our job'.

Kuchimba ni kazi yetù 'Digging is our job'.

ADDENDA

Two limited constructions may be noted which do not appear to belong to the system sketched above. They are of considerable interest for study of the syntactic scope of *Neg*.

(A) There is a set of sentences with the surface structure of *si* + *NP* + *Dem-Pro* and a broken rising intonation similar to *IP* II:ii:d., but not the same since there are two steps from a low beginning, rather than one from a mid beginning. Despite the negative *si*, these sentences are interpreted as affirmative, and despite the staccato rise at the end they are interpreted as exclamations or statements, not as questions:

Si chakula hicho 'This is food' (to someone who does not know what 'this' is, e.g. to someone who sees an object and asks whether it is a decoration, or admonishing a child).

Si Hamisi yule 'This is Hamisi' (not e.g. Saimon).

Si shamba hilo 'This is a field'.

There is no associated *Hicho si chakula* with the same meaning; these sentences can therefore not be regarded as shifts.

(B) Another set of constructions is associated with the same categories and formatives: *si+NP+Dem-Pro*, but used exclusively with a variant of *IP* II:ii:a. In this variant the rise on *NP* is approximately the rise of two steps, not one. When heard in discourse, the pattern is mid, very high, mid falling, rather than low, high, low falling, with expressive lengthening of the stressed high syllable. Sentences with this intonation are exclamatory, expressing amazement at the size or quantity of *NP*:

Si chakula hichoo 'That's an enormous quantity of food' (implying disbelief at the quantity).

Si shamba hiloo 'That's a huge field' (disbelief again).

Such sentences should be examined in connection with other exclamations such as *Nzuri vibaya* 'Very good' (lit. 'Good badly') where lexical items usually semantically negative or pejorative are used to signal strong positive approval.

FOOTNOTES:

1. This is a modified version of a more theoretical paper: Elizabeth Closs, 'Some copula constructions in Swahili', *Journal of African Languages* (forthcoming).

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2. E. O. Ashton, *Swahili grammar (including intonation)*, London, 19472; for sections relevant to the discussion in this article see specially pp.92-5, 179-80, 205-13, 281-3. See also A. Loogman, *Swahili grammar and syntax*, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1965, pp.408-15.

. This is often called the Subject Prefix; that term has been abandoned here since concord is occasionally shown with the Predicate Nominal, not the Subject, cf. the discussion of sentences 59-64.

4. At this stage it is impossible to establish clear grammatical criteria for 'class-member' sentences such as *Mafua ni ugonjwa* 'A cold is a disease', *Kilimo ni kazi* 'Cultivation is work'. These sentences are all generalizations which do not permit the use of *–w–* or the expansion of *NP* by specifying modifiers (e.g. demonstrative, possessive); they are all ambiguous with sentences expressing equivalence or definition, where *–w–* is possible and also expansion of the *NP* by specifying modifiers: *Kilimo (hiki) ni kazi* 'This cultivation is work', *Kilimo kilikuwa kazi* 'The cultivation was work'. The ambiguity is hard to account for on grammatical grounds without a clear framework of contextual restrictions (e.g. position within discourse; familiarity of the speakers and hearers with the topic of discussion). It may, however, be noted that many (though not all) the class-member type sentences allow expansion by the frame: *Noun Sg + ni + moja + katika + Noun Pl*, e.g. *Mtoto ni kiumbe* 'A child is a creature' may undergo paraphrase expansion to *Mtoto ni mmoja katika viumbe* 'A child is a creature/ A childi one of the (class of) creatures'.

5. The apparent contrast between 'be' in 3 and 'become' in 1, 2 is one of translation and semantics only. No structural distinction is made that would justify setting up two grammatically discrete verbs.

6. Ashton, *Swahili grammar*, p.92, claims that 'when the complement identifies the subject' *Vpf* must be used for 1st and 2nd persons, *ni* for the 3rd. No sentences have been found in the dialect here under discussion where NP_1 *ni* NP_2 was considered unacceptable. In fact *Wewe ni mtoto* 'You are a child', *Sisi ni wapishi* 'We are cooks', *Sisi ni watu dhaifu* 'We are weak mortals' are preferred to the corresponding *Vpf* types.

7. It also occurs in a few non-copula constructions; in these it also emphasizes or specifies the relationship to the Predication of the particular *NP* with which it occurs: *Momela Farm ni imefanywa National Park* 'Momela Farm (specifically) was made into a National Park', *Momela Farm imefanywa ni National Park* 'Momela Farm was made (specifically) into a National Park', *Mama amefanywa (kuwa) ni muuguzi* 'My mother has become (exactly) a nurse.'

8. The two were from Zanzibar. This might seem to agree with the entry under *yu* in F. Johnson, ed., *A standard Swahili-English dictionary*, O.U.P., 1939, that *Vpf* is not usual in Zanzibar and adjacent coastal regions; on the other hand two of those who accepted *Vpf* are from Zanzibar, including M who accepts *Vpf* perhaps more readily than any of the other speakers consulted.

9. Ashton, *Swahili grammar*, p.92. See also ft.6.

10. Longman, *Swahili grammar...*, p. 409.

11. Ambiguity is due to the fact that both *NP*s are realized by members of the noun class taking *m/wa* class prefixes; *ndi– + –O* could therefore be in concord relation to either *NP*.

12. Ashton, *Swahili grammar*, p.179.

13. In colloquial speech an invariable *ndiyo* seems to be gaining ground, cf. *Hiki ndicho kitabu?* freely varying with *Hiki ndiyo kitabu?* 'Is this a book?' This *ndiyo* does not have the same function as either $ndiyo_1$ or $ndiyo_2$.

14. For a detailed study of the structure of *NP* cf. Judith Olinick, University of Wisconsin Diss. (in progress). She postulates a maximal or near-maximal string containing the following adjectival types with *watoto* 'children' as the nominal head: *hawa watoto wangu wazuri sana wo wote wengine gani watano* 'which five other of these very good children of mine', i.e. Demonstrative—Noun—Possessive—Adjective (including relatives)—Intensifier—$Quantifier_1$—$Quantifier_2$—Interrogative Adjective—Numeral. In the phrase cited the Demonstrative *hawa* has been moved to prenominal position; in short nominal groups, however, it is often post-nominal.

15. This sentence, which is an excellent example of embedded *kuMV* nominalizations, occurs in the *Parliamentary Debates*, 1964, p.19. It is a counter-example to the tendency for avoiding complex *NP*s in initial position; see discussion of sentences 96, 97.

16. *Parliamentary Debates*, 1964, p.46.

17. Most constructions of this 'copula of association' type can be optionally expanded by *kama* 'like' immediately preceding NP_2: (*Kuwa na*) *mama* (*ni*) (*kama*) (*kuwa na*) *shoga* 'Having a husband is like having a friend'. In practice, however, *kama* is rare in the absence of *kuwa na* except in proverbs and other sayings of a different stylistic mode. *Kama* is, therefore, unexpected in productive derived sentences like: *Ufarisi wao ni faraja yetu* 'Their success is our happiness', *Uzuri si hoja* 'Beauty does not count', but is readily acceptable in the *kuwa na* forms of these sentences. On the other hand, *kama* is quite often heard in sayings like: *Mkemwenzi ni* (*kama*) *adui* 'A co-wife is an enemy', *Mtoto wa nyoka ni* (*kama*) *nyoka* 'Like mother, like daughter' (lit. Being with the child of a snake is like being with a snake), *Mapenzi ni* (*kama*) *futa* 'Love is fat'. In proverbs NP_1 may also be realized as any *kuMV*; this is, however, not characteristic of productive usage: *Kujibu ni* (*kama*) (*kuwa na*) *dhahabu* 'Getting a reply is (like) getting gold'.

    Several of these constructions are further related by paraphrase to causatives. The causative verbs most often associated with these constructions are *-let-* 'bring' and *-sababish-* 'cause'; cf. *Dada alikuwa kero* 'My sister was nuisance' and the paraphrases *Kuwa na dada kulikuwa* (*kuwa na*) *kero*, *Kuwa na dada kulileta kero*. There is a further possible paraphrase *Dada ana kero* (lit. My sister is with a nuisance). All these constructions pose problems which need further study.

18. No attempt is made at detailed characterization or phonemicization; only the essential outlines are provided. The *IP* numbers do not correspond to Mrs. Ashton's. For a phonemicization of Swahili intonation, see M. H. Watkins, 'Swahili phonology, with special emphasis on intonation patterns', *Monograph series on linguage and linguistics*, Georgetown, 11:25-42 (1958).

19. The Swahili word (except in the case of a few loans) is characterized by stress on the penultimate syllable, none on the final syllable.